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The Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Conference on Child Labor Under the Auspices of the National Child Labor Committee

Boston, Mass., January 13, 14, 15, 16, 1910.

The first annual conference of this committee was held in New York City, February 14 to 16, 1905. The second was held in Washington, December 8 to 10, 1905, with supplementary sessions in Philadelphia and Chicago. The third was held in Cincinnati, December 13 to 15, 1906, the fourth in Atlanta, Ga., April 2 to 5, 1908, and the fifth in Chicago, January 21 to 23, 1909.

At the sixth annual conference held in Boston, January 13 to 16, the following program was carried out:

I. Thursday Afternoon, January 13th, 2.30 o'clock.

GENERAL TOPIC: CHILD-EMPLOYING INDUSTRIES.

Chairman, Dr. A. J. McKelway, Atlanta, Ga., Secretary for the Southern States, National Child Labor Committee.

Address, "Children in the Textile Industry," John Golden, Fall River, Mass., President United Textile Workers of America.

Discussion.

Subtopics for general discussion:

1. Present condition and outlook of the industry. (Cotton, woolen, silk, knitting, etc.)
 2. Children employed. Character of work, hours of labor, wages.
 3. Possibility of employing older persons for so-called children's work.
 4. Labor-saving devices as a substitute for children.
 5. Effect of child labor on family income.
 6. Effects of employment, physical decline, illiteracy, etc.
 7. Accidents.
 8. Why conditions in modern factories are more taxing than those of a generation ago.
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II. Thursday Evening, January 13th, 8 o'clock.

Dr. Felix Adler, Chairman National Child Labor Committee, presiding.

Hon. Grafton D. Cushing, Chairman Massachusetts Child Labor Committee, opened the meeting with an Address of Welcome.

PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING A NATIONAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST
CHILD LABOR.

1. Annual Address by Dr. Felix Adler, New York.
 2. "The Cotton Mill a Factor in the Development of the South," Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, New York, Chairman Welfare Committee, National Civic Federation.
 3. "The Federal Children's Bureau," Owen R. Lovejoy, New York, General Secretary, National Child Labor Committee.
 4. "Children Who Work in Textiles" (stereopticon), Dr. A. J. McKelway. Reception by the Civic Conference Committee in the Liberal Arts Building.
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III. Friday Morning, January 14th, 9:30 o'clock.

CONFERENCE OF STATE COMMITTEES.

- Chairman, Owen R. Lovejoy, New York, General Secretary.
1. Reports of State and Local Committees.
 2. Address, "Relation of the National Child Labor Committee to State and Local Committees."
- Discussion led by Edward W. Frost, Milwaukee, Chairman, Wisconsin Child Labor Committee.
- Suggested topics for general discussion:
- a. The special field of work of the National Child Labor.
 - b. An outline for financial affiliation.
 - c. Responsibility in sections of the country where strong local support cannot be obtained.
 - d. Special lines of work for state and local committees.
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IV. Friday Morning, January 14th, 10:30 o'clock.

VOCATIONAL DIRECTION.

Chairman, Everett W. Lord, Boston, Secretary for New England.

Address by Dr. David Snedden, Commissioner of Education, Massachusetts.

Discussion led by Robert A. Woods, South End House, Boston.

Subtopics for discussion:

1. Demand for vocational education.
2. Importance of choice of career.
3. Usual determining factors in choice of career.
4. Natural vocational advisers and their limitations.
5. Agencies designed to aid natural advisers.

V. Friday Noon, January 14th, 2.30 o'clock.

MASS MEETING AT FANEUIL HALL.

Dr. Felix Adler, Presiding.

Child Labor Poem by Denis A. McCarthy, Boston.

Addresses by Mrs. Florence Kelley, General Secretary, National Consumers' League; Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Free Synagogue, New York.

VI. Friday Afternoon, January 14, 2.30 o'clock.

SECTION MEETINGS.

Section I.

THE ENFORCEMENT OF CHILD LABOR LAWS.

Chairman, Homer Folks, Secretary, State Charities Aid Association, New York.

Discussion led by Hon. E. J. Watson, Commissioner, Agriculture, Commerce and Industries, South Carolina, and Hon. H. C. Morrison, State Superintendent of Instruction, New Hampshire.

Discussion. New England factory inspectors, school officials, and health boards, especially invited to join in general discussion.

Section II.

STATISTICS.

Chairman, Fred. S. Hall, Philadelphia, Secretary, Pennsylvania Child-Labor Association.

Addresses:

1. "Value of Accurate Statistical Knowledge," Fred S. Hall.
 2. "Necessity for Complete Vital Statistics," John Koren, Boston, Special Agent, United States Census Bureau.
 3. "One State's Statistical Equipment," Hon. Charles F. Gettemy, Director, Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics.
 4. "Proof of Age Records," Grace F. Ward, Boston, and Jeanie V. Minor, Special Agent, New York Child Labor Committee.
 5. "The Providence School Census System," Gilbert E. Whittemore, Chief Attendance Officer, Providence.
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VII. Friday Evening, January 14th, 8 o'clock.

FORCES ANTAGONISTIC TO CHILD LABOR REFORM.

Chairman, Samuel McCune Lindsay, Columbia University.

1. "False Economic Ideas," Charles F. Smith, New Britain, Conn., President, Landers, Frary & Clark.
2. "Unequal Laws," Prof. Samuel McCune Lindsay, New York, Director New York School of Philanthropy.
3. "Demand for Cheap Labor," Mrs. Florence Kelley, New York, General Secretary National Consumers' League.

4. "Indifference of Church and Moral Forces," Rev. John Haynes Holmes, New York, Pastor Church of the Messiah.
 5. "Inadequate Schools," Everett W. Lord.
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VIII. Saturday Morning, January 15th, 9.30 o'clock.

Section I.

DRAFTING CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION.

Chairman, Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay.

1. Address by Hon. Curtis Guild, Jr., Ex-Governor of Massachusetts. Discussion led by Hollis R. Bailey, Boston, Chairman Committee on Uniform Laws.
2. Address, "Physical Tests For Working Children," Dr. William C. Hanson, Boston, State Board of Health.
Subtopics for general discussion:
 1. Drafting state laws and local ordinances.
 2. Comparison of state laws and advantage of uniformity within similar industrial areas.
 3. Value of—age, physical, educational—tests of fitness to work.
 4. The legislative campaign.

Section II.

CHILD LABOR IN HOME INDUSTRIES AND STREET TRADES.

Chairman, Edward N. Clopper, Cincinnati, Secretary for the Ohio Valley States.

Address, "Effect of Tenement Child Labor on Education, Health, Morals and Family Income," Miss Mary Van Kleeck, New York, Secretary, Committee on Women's Work.

Discussion led by Mrs. Florence Kelley.

Suggested outline for general discussion:

1. Enactment of laws to regulate such employment.
 2. Extent of child labor in street trades.
 3. Statistics of wages in street trades.
 4. The night messenger.
 5. Morning and evening employment of school children, *e. g.*, street lamp lighters, scavengers, newsboys, errand boys, milk route boys, etc.
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IX. Saturday Morning, January 15th, 11 o'clock.

GENERAL SESSION.

CHILD LABOR IN CANNERRIES, TRUCK GARDENING, TOBACCO AND BEET-SUGAR FIELDS.

Chairman, Edward N. Clopper.

Discussion led by Miss Pauline Goldmark, New York, Supervisor, Research Work, New York School of Philanthropy.

- Suggested topics for general discussion:
1. Fruit and vegetable canning and sea-foods.
 2. Manufacture of tobacco, cigars, cigarettes, etc.
 3. Housing and sanitary conditions.
 4. Educational opportunities of children in rural communities.
 5. Physical conditions.
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X. *Sunday, January 16th.*

CHILD LABOR AND THE CHURCH.

Child labor was the topic of sermons and addresses in the following churches.

First Baptist Church, Commonwealth Avenue. Owen R. Lovejoy.

First Universalist Church, Roxbury. Dr. A. J. McKelway.

St. John's Church, Upham's Corner. E. N. Clopper.

Winthrop Street M. E. Church, Roxbury. Everett W. Lord.

St. Paul Universalist Church, Jamaica Plain. Fred S. Hall.

Center Street Baptist Church, Jamaica Plain. Richard K. Conant.

Trinity Church, Boston. Owen R. Lovejoy.

Warren Avenue Baptist Church, Boston. Dr. A. J. McKelway.

St. Peter's Church, Jamaica Plain. E. N. Clopper.

Hope Chapel, Shawmut Avenue. Everett W. Lord.

Grace Church, South Boston. Prof. Charles F. Bradley.

In the following churches the child labor services were conducted by the pastor:

Church of the Holy Spirit, Mattapan.

Church of the Ascension, Boston.

Maverick Congregational Church, East Boston.

Eliot Congregational Church, Roxbury.

Tremont Street M. E. Church, Boston.

Church of Our Father, East Boston.

Boylston Congregational Church, Jamaica Plain.

Channing Unitarian Church, Dorchester.

St. John's Church, East Boston.

St. Stephen's Church, Boston.

First Parish Church, West Roxbury.

St. Mary's Church, Dorchester.

FIRST SESSION.

At the first session addresses were delivered by Dr. A. J. McKelway,* Secretary for the Southern States, and by John Golden,* President United Textile Workers of America.

The general topic of the session, "Children in the Textile Industry," was then thrown open for discussion.

* All papers and addresses marked * appear in full elsewhere in this volume.

The chairman referred to the pioneer work conducted by organized labor against child labor in America, and called attention to the varying interests, religious, political, economic, represented in the National Child Labor Committee. The discussion was directed to the following topics: "Present Condition and Outlook of the Textile Industry," "Character of Children's Work," "Hours of Labor," "Wages," "Possibility of Substituting Older Persons or Labor-saving Devices," "Effect of Child Labor on Family Income," "Accidents," etc.

Among those who participated in the discussion were the Rev. Mr. Fuller, of Boston; Fred S. Hall, Secretary of the Pennsylvania Child Labor Association; E. W. Krackowizer, of New York.

Mr. Hall referred to the development of various textile industries in Pennsylvania, and to a conversation recently overheard, in which a country lawyer proposed to establish a hosiery mill, admitting that he knew nothing about the business, but saying "any one can go into the hosiery business and make a good thing out of it."

Mr. Hall said: "Why is it easy for a man without any experience to go into the hosiery business and in spite of his blunders make easy money out of it. Twenty out of every hundred workers in the hosiery mills of Pennsylvania are fifteen years of age, or fourteen, or twelve, or eleven, or some age under it. Across the line, in New York, where our competitors work, three out of every hundred are under sixteen. Is it any wonder that blunderers think they can put up hosiery mills in our state and make them succeed?"

"Industrial migrations are not unknown, and we can usually trace the cause when we see glass factories torn down and moved into another town; then torn down and moved still to another state. The reason is not hard to find. They almost wholly depend upon cheap fuel, and natural gas is their fuel. When this fuel is used up they move to another place, but in the migration of the silk industry from Paterson, N. J., we find no such explanation. What do we find? For years it has been demonstrated in Pennsylvania that children from eight years upward may be employed. In the coal regions their chief employment was in the coal breakers. There girl children were going to waste from the standpoint of possible employees. That fact was discovered about ten or fifteen years ago, and the silk industry has been increasing by leaps and bounds in the northern part of our state.

"We report progress, however. The recent law passed in Pennsylvania will, we believe, amount almost to a revolution. Schools are opening new classes, coal breakers are closing for lack of boys. Boys sixteen years of age are being employed at thirty-six cents a day advance over what their young predecessors received. The same thing is going on in the silk mills.

"But the textile manufacturers are not all as a class opposed to these higher standards. We in Pennsylvania have found it essential and practicable to win these men. We passed the new child labor law, which we hope will make fourteen the real age in our state, through co-operation with one of these manufacturers' associations. Without their advocacy we would have failed. We ought to work with this better element who are dragged down in competition by the lower element among manufacturers."

Mr. Lovejoy referred to the fact that while organized labor in general promotes the campaign against child employment, it has been found on several occasions in New Jersey and other states that representatives of the Glass Blowers' Union have co-operated with the manufacturers in defeating legislation which sought to prevent the employment of young children at night. He expressed the hope that representatives of organized labor present would make it manifest that they disapprove of such treason against the working child by representatives of the working men.

Mr. Krackowizer said the child labor question is the question of the family. The mission of the school is to unite the family, and wherever we touch this question, whether our sympathies are aroused for the down-trodden woman, or for men who cannot make living wages, it is the family that is being ruined and corrupted. "There are many mothers here, and to the extent that your husbands are able to earn full wages, I urge that you use not only your sympathies, but all your skill and influence to aid the family through the child."

Dr. McKelway said: "Undoubtedly child labor means cheap labor. Where the child is brought into competition with the family, the wage is brought down to the child's standard, so that it takes the wages of the whole family for the family to live upon. The abolition of child labor would mean a living wage for the older members of the family."

SECOND SESSION.

At the second session Hon. Grafton D. Cushing, of Boston, opened the meeting with an address of welcome and called upon the chairman of the National Child Labor Committee to preside. Mr. Cushing said:

"It is a pleasant duty to welcome to Boston, on behalf of the Massachusetts State Child Labor Committee, the annual conference on child labor, and to wish the participants in the convention a full measure of instruction and of new enthusiasm for their work. In this age of specialization it is to be expected that so important a subject as the protection of children from premature labor should be deemed worthy an organization of its own, and it speaks well for the general interest in the subject that so many of you should have come from different parts of the Union to give to us the fruits of your experience.

"Conferences of this sort are invaluable in the exchange of ideas and in the general stimulation of interest which must come from a thorough discussion of any subject; and one feels almost sure to-day that a full discussion, when made known through proper channels of publicity, will bear satisfactory results. Once thoroughly interest the American people, and its verdict will be right. It is our function to awaken that interest and to direct it along practical lines. Agitation is the precursor of action. We must first agitate and then act, making sure that our course is dictated by reason and not by sentiment. The cause that we represent here to-day is so closely entwined with the problem of the proper education and proper care of the youth of the country that it becomes of utmost importance to

awaken the community to a sense of the dangers inherent in the employment of children. It is somewhat of a shock to Massachusetts people to find that, far from being in the lead in child labor legislation, we are behind many other states. We have sat complacently congratulating ourselves on our standards, and younger and more progressive states have passed us by.

"It is, therefore, time to act. Various associations have interested themselves in various phases of child labor before now; but until now there has been in this state no organized effort devoted specifically to child labor problems. With the formation of a State Child Labor Committee, affiliated with the National Child Labor Committee, we may expect to carry on a campaign which shall bring to every inhabitant of the state a knowledge of conditions as they are and the remedies we propose to apply. It is desirable that this Massachusetts movement should be part of an aggressive New England movement, not only because it is well to extend the work as far as possible, but also because it is better that restrictive legislation, which may put the manufacturers of one state at a disadvantage with competitors in other states, should be adopted by a number of competing states. We have no intention to injure industries or employers of labor in Massachusetts, and whatever changes in the hours of employment of children are made, time should be given to the employers to adapt their business to the new conditions. It must, however, be remembered that whenever legislation of the sort we shall recommend has been suggested in Massachusetts, the cry has invariably been raised that Massachusetts industries would suffer, and yet, although our laws are stricter than many competing states, Massachusetts mills are prosperous and never more so than at the present time. The broad-visioned, far-sighted policy for Massachusetts—the policy that means eventually the fullest strength and vigor in the nation—is to require that no children shall be allowed to work in conditions detrimental to their health or development, if such conditions are preventable."

The annual address was delivered by the chairman, Dr. Felix Adler.*

Addresses were also given by Mrs. J. Borden Harriman,* New York, chairman, Welfare Committee, National Civic Federation, on "The Cotton Mill a Factor in the Development of the South"; Owen R. Lovejoy,* on "The Federal Children's Bureau," and the meeting closed with a stereopticon address on "The Mill or the Farm?" by Dr. A. J. McKelway.*

THIRD SESSION.

At the third session, on "Relation of the National Child Labor Committee to State and Local Committees," a summary of reports from committees, presented elsewhere in this volume, was given by the chairman of the session, Mr. Lovejoy. The special topics for discussion were the following:

- (a) The special field of work of the National Child Labor Committee.
- (b) An outline for financial affiliation.

(c) Responsibility in sections of the country where strong local support cannot be obtained.

(d) Special lines of work for state and local committees.

The discussion was opened with an address by Edward W. Frost,* Milwaukee, chairman, Wisconsin Child Labor Committee.

The subject was discussed by Mrs. Carl Barus, Providence, chairman of the Joint Committee on Child Welfare in Rhode Island; Richard K. Conant, Boston, secretary of the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee; Miss Jean M. Gordon, New Orleans, factory inspector, Louisiana; Mrs. G. W. B. Cushing, East Orange, chairman, New Jersey Child Labor Committee; Fred S. Hall, Philadelphia, secretary, Pennsylvania Child Labor Association; Mrs. Ella Jordan Mason, Biddeford, secretary, Maine Child Labor Committee, and others.

In closing the discussion, the chairman of the meeting summarized the chief forms of service the National Committee can render state and local forces by:

- (1) Facts gathered in careful field investigation.
 - (2) Expert leadership of our district secretaries.
 - (3) Collection and tabulation of literature, both local and foreign.
 - (4) Publication and extensive distribution of reports, addresses and essays on child labor.
 - (5) Criticism and interpretation of official reports.
 - (6) Preparation and display of charts, photographs, etc.
 - (7) Drafting bills and advising in legislative campaigns.
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FOURTH SESSION.

The fourth session was devoted to vocational direction, Everett W. Lord, Boston, secretary for New England, chairman. Addresses were delivered by the chairman and by Dr. David Snedden, Boston, commissioner of education, Massachusetts. These addresses appear, together with the ensuing discussion, in a symposium entitled "Vocational Suggestion."

FIFTH SESSION.

The fifth session was a mass meeting at Faneuil Hall, at which Dr. Felix Adler presided. Addresses were delivered by Mrs. Florence Kelley,* New York, general secretary, National Consumers' League; Rabbi Stephen S. Wise,* Free Synagogue, New York; Hon. Hooper Alexander,* Atlanta, Ga., and an original poem was read by Denis A. McCarthy, Boston.

SIXTH SESSION.

Section I. was devoted to "The Enforcement of Child Labor Laws," Homer Folks, New York, secretary, State Charities Aid Association, pre-

siding. Addresses were delivered by Mr. Folks,* Hon. E. J. Watson,* Columbia, S. C., commissioner agriculture, commerce and industries, and Hon. Henry C. Morrison,* state superintendent of instruction, New Hampshire.

A general discussion followed, in which Mrs. Kelley, Dr. McKelway, Miss Gordon, Mr. Lord and Miss Putnam participated.

In response to Mr. Watson's claim that South Carolina has gone farther than other states in development of the factory inspection department, Dr. McKelway said, "I am hardly able to see the distinction. They have a mine inspector and a factory inspector in Tennessee and in Connecticut; they have a very complete factory inspection department in New Hampshire; they have factory inspection in New Orleans also. Virginia has a department of factory inspection under the Commission of Labor, which seems to me exactly parallel to the situation in South Carolina. So I hardly know what the commissioner meant when he spoke about that being the first state to adopt a complete system."

MR. WATSON: I simply meant that we have made it a full state department. We have gone farther into the ramifications of factory inspection than any other state.

DR. MCKELWAY: The great need in the South to-day is to get the fourteen-year-age limit. I do not see why South Carolina cannot be as humane toward her native white children as is Massachusetts. Two things are to be done: First, raise the age limit to fourteen in the five or six southern states that still have the twelve-year-age limit; second, have complete factory inspection.

MISS JEAN M. GORDON, factory inspector, New Orleans: I have found in my work that other questions are as serious as that of the child in the cotton mill. I think we ought to have a discussion of the child in the theater.

THE CHAIRMAN: The subject is "The Enforcement of the Child Labor Law" in every department of child labor.

MISS GORDON: I think a division of child labor which the national association has overlooked is that of children on the stage, and from my experience of the past few years I consider it very much more baneful in its effects and influence upon the child than the mill or the factory, for the temptations are much greater. In the beginning, the wages are much larger, and if the girls have the slightest physical attraction they can easily obtain from \$10 to \$18 a week. When this physical attraction passes, which is very soon, and they can no longer be employed to kick and sing, then comes the test of character, for few are willing to go into the monotonous humdrum life of the factory with its long hours and poor pay, and having once tasted the gayety of late suppers and dances, they take naturally to the broad path which leads down, ever down.

In New Orleans the Supreme Court has just upheld my contention as factory inspector, that the child labor law applied to children appearing in any capacity on the stage. I suppose an effort will be made to amend the present law so as not to apply to children in so-called first-class theaters, but I think we have sufficient evidence to prove that such "so-

called" first-class plays as "Sapho" and "Salvation Nell" are not very healthful atmospheres in which to raise young, impressionable children.

We have paid more attention to the children in cotton mills because there we see them in large numbers and are impressed with the effects upon them; whereas, the children on the stage only appear one or two in each play, generally well dressed and painted, which would hide any bad effects of the life. But we must remember that comparatively few states have cotton mills and comparatively few towns in each state send their children into the mill; but every town, in every one of our forty-five states, has a vaudeville or theater of some class, and when we think of all these children all over the Union who are dancing and singing and kicking every afternoon and night, it is soon borne in upon us that the question of children upon the stage is as great, if not a greater, question than children in the cotton mills.

MR. LORD: Last winter there was an attempt by theatrical managers in Boston to get an exemption of the law which prohibits work of any kind after 7 o'clock in the evening by children under fourteen. A charge had been brought against one manager in the local court. The manager appealed, and the decision of the Supreme Court handed down last week was based on the question whether this is work. The manager said it was not. The court decided it was. That established the present law, but we are seeking now an amendment to prohibit employment of children between fourteen and sixteen on the stage in the evening.

MISS GORDON: That was the contention of the New Orleans managers, that the law did not apply to them, that the word "work" applied only to the scene painters, scene shifters, etc. Our law is more stringent than yours, because it prohibits employment of girls at night under eighteen, and of boys in the telegraph offices under sixteen. I like to tell this in favor of the manager of the Western Union Telegraph office in New Orleans. He came to thank the factory inspector for having raised the age limit at which night work can be done by boys, declaring that he is getting better service.

MR. LORD: I am working out a pamphlet which will give information regarding employment of children in theaters. The only information secured last year was derived from a joint report as to the law in different states. One general statement was that all great actors began as children. I find that to be absolutely false.

MRS. KELLEY: I regret that Mr. Morrison is not here, and wonder if any one else from New Hampshire can tell us of the conditions where the protection of children is left to educational authorities as to working hours and work at night. Do the educational authorities confine themselves to enforcing provisions that have to do with school only? Outside school hours; that is to say, at the age of twelve years, children may go into cotton mills in summer and go back into schools when they begin. I do not quite see how the school authorities could help them.

MR. LORD: The educational provision of the New Hampshire law is, I believe, the best we have in New England, because it is enforced from the

state office, and depends but little in its administration on local officers. The tests are fixed by the state superintendent of schools, and local officials are obliged to use those tests in examining children to see whether they are up to the required standard. The result is that while in New Hampshire the standard is not so high as it is here in Massachusetts, nor as in Connecticut, the effect is much better. It is enforced very much better throughout the state.

Section II. was devoted to "Statistics," Fred S. Hall, Philadelphia, secretary of the Pennsylvania Child Labor Association, presiding. The following addresses were delivered:

- (1) "Value of Accurate Statistical Knowledge," Fred S. Hall.*
- (2) "Necessity for Complete Vital Statistics," John Koren, Boston, special agent, United States Census Bureau.
- (3) "One State's Statistical Equipment," Frank S. Drown,* director, Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics.
- (4) "Proof-of-age Records," Grace F. Ward, Boston, and Jeanie V. Minor,* special agent, New York Child Labor Committee.
- (5) "The Providence School Census System," Gilbert E. Whittemore,* chief attendance officer, Providence.

These papers were briefly discussed by Mr. Hall, Mrs. Elmer J. Bissell, of Rochester; C. V. Hartzell, Harrisburg, Department of Factory Inspection, Pennsylvania, and others.

Mr. Hall referred to a recent visit to Scranton, Pa., and said, "Visiting the Health Office, I inquired if the law requiring birth certificates to be recorded was enforced in that city. The man in charge pointed to the statistics, showing in one month two hundred births recorded; in the following month approximately seven hundred births recorded. The reason was not far to seek. He said the Department of Health had employed some detectives and, as a result of what they discovered, a score or more midwives and several physicians were haled before a justice and fined for having failed to record the birth of children."

MR. HARTZELL: In respect to enforcement of the child labor law in Pennsylvania, so far as it relates to issuance of certificates, I recall an argument, and a strong one, too, against the old method of issuing an employment affidavit attested to by a justice of the peace or others. In putting that duty upon the school officials, the argument against the old method was that with a payment of a 25-cent fee he would not be very careful whether he attested the facts officially. Now, it will surprise you to find that school officials under the present law, who are entitled to no fee for the issuing of certificates, are perhaps just as careless. When I left my office the other day instructions were issued to one of our deputies to prosecute the superintendent of public schools of one of our Pennsylvania cities. It is characterizing it in a very mild way to say his methods are lax in carrying out the Pennsylvania laws in respect to issuing employment certificates. In a word, I may tell you he signed a lot of these blank cer-

tificates and gave them to the employers of labor to hand out, regardless of whether the child was under or over fourteen years of age, regardless of whether the child could read or write. It looks as though we had among our educators some who are careless and indifferent to the welfare of children. I am sorry to bring in this story of laxity, but am very glad to assure you we have vigorously prosecuted an alderman, and even one mayor of Pennsylvania for illegal practices.

SEVENTH SESSION.

At the seventh session, devoted to the subject, "Forces Antagonistic to Child Labor Reform," Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay presided in the absence of President Emeritus Charles W. Eliot. The following addresses were delivered:

"False Economic Ideas," Charles F. Smith,* New Britain, Conn., president, Landers, Frary & Clark.

"Unequal Laws," Prof. Samuel McCune Lindsay.*

"Indifference of Church and Moral Forces," Rev. John Haynes Holmes,* Church of the Messiah, New York.

"The Demand for Cheap Labor," Mrs. Florence Kelley, New York, general secretary, National Consumers' League.

"Inadequate Schools," Everett W. Lord.*

The chairman then extended a word of welcome to the delegates of the Bricklayers and Masons' International Union of America, and read the following resolutions:

"To the National Child Labor Committee now in convention assembled:

"WHEREAS, The Bricklayers and Masons' International Union of America, now assembled in convention in the city of Boston, are in accord with the work being carried out by the National Child Labor Committee;

"Resolved, That an expression of goodwill be extended, and the hope expressed that your efforts in this convention to ameliorate the present conditions will prove of the greatest success. And be it further

"Resolved, That a committee be appointed to attend the convention assembled.

"The following were delegated as a committee: Alf. G. Geeves, seventh vice-president, Bricklayers and Masons' International Union; C. H. Ruth, city of Oklahoma; J. McCaig, Pittsburg, Pa.; Hugh Blair, Cleveland, Ohio; M. R. Grady, Chicago, Ill.; J. McGregor, Indianapolis, Ind."

Mr. Ruth was invited to address the meeting, and spoke, in part, as follows:

"I consider myself particularly fortunate in coming to Boston at a time when a convention such as this is in progress. I extend the greetings of the Bricklayers and Masons' International Union, with which I have had the pleasure to be connected for the last twenty-six years. This organization is composed of upward of one hundred thousand men, all able-bodied, and I am proud to say that the trade I follow is of a character that

will not permit a child to work. If we cannot get legislation such as we need, would to God every profession was so that no weak woman or child could work at it, and the strong men had to go out and do the work. Then the problem would be solved.

"I am particularly interested in child labor legislation, for the reason that since I was eleven years of age I had to wield a trowel and lay brick and stone, and never had an opportunity to see the inside of a schoolroom except when I was building it. I, like other children, loved to play ball and marbles, but those days we worked ten and twelve hours a day, or we worked from see to see. That is, from when you could see in the morning till when you couldn't see at night.

"We have connected with our organization one thousand one hundred and thirty-three unions, embracing every state in the United States and every province in Canada. When we learned you were meeting here, a resolution was presented to our organization, and passed unanimously, and I say to you as a man who has worked with his trowel from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Great Lakes to the Gulf, meeting thousands and thousands of my fellow-workmen, that if the child labor problem were put up to the bricklayers and masons of the United States to-day, and the result depended upon their votes, it would be settled to-night, for their voice would go out as unanimously as in that convention to-day.

"I come to you from Oklahoma, and you will remember that in a recent address the President advised the people of Arizona, if they were admitted to statehood in this Union, they should not follow the precedent established by the State of Oklahoma in adopting its constitution.

"One of the sections of our law says that no child under sixteen shall be employed underground. Another, that no girl under the age of sixteen years shall in any city sell, expose or offer for sale newspapers, magazines or periodicals in any street or out-of-door place. Another, that any man who employs a female in his establishment must provide her with a place to sit down when she is not actively engaged in work, or if the work is of a character that will permit her being seated. We elected a commissioner of labor, who was a laboring man. He had a card in his pocket, and he appointed in his office every man he needed that had a union card in his pocket, and these men went forth and enforced these laws.

"We have the best code of laws in the United States or in the world. Probably not as well written, probably the phraseology is not such as the people of Massachusetts would use, because bricklayers have very little time to study grammar. We are studying humanity down in that great prairie country. We are not protecting the infant industries; but we are protecting those other infants that you can dandle on your knee, and we will take our chances with that kind of an infant.

"We have not the sea coast you people East have, but I have read your laws. I know that every state on the sea coast has passed a law protecting an oyster an inch and three-quarters long. If you go out on the sea coast to-day and capture an oyster an inch and three-quarters long, you have to throw it overboard, and you know it. Another one of your laws

is that you cannot take baby lobsters. They must be a certain size before you can take a baby lobster. Why do not they protect the children as they do the lobster?

"I have copies of laws here in my pocket, every one of which was passed for the benefit of the workingman, the workingwoman and for the protection of the children. In the organization I represent there is not a man that works for less than \$4 a day, eight hours a day, and it would be a disgrace and he would be socially ostracized if he permitted his wife or one of his children to go into a mill or factory and help support his family. We have fought for these wages to help protect our families. People who have come to Oklahoma and returned East, when they were departing, have said to me, 'I am going back to God's country,' meaning the East, and perhaps Massachusetts. After looking over your labor laws, and the manner in which they are enforced, I want to say if this is God's country, I prefer the boundless prairies of Oklahoma, where it is man's country, woman's country and children's country."

EIGHTH SESSION.

Section I. was devoted to the subject, "Drafting Child Labor Legislation," Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay, chairman. An address was delivered by Hon. Curtis Guild, Jr.,* ex-Governor of Massachusetts. Discussion of Governor Guild's paper was led by Hollis R. Bailey, Esq., Boston, chairman of the Committee on Uniform Child Labor Laws of the Commission on Uniform State Laws of the American Bar Association.

Mr. Bailey referred to the work of the commissioners on uniform state laws, and of the steps leading to the appointment of the special committee to refer to the next conference a draft for uniform state laws. He said the commission looked to the National Child Labor Committee, "which is educating the public, forming public opinion and doing something toward national legislation," for guidance in the development of a practical plan to be submitted. "It would be quite out of the question to think that the National Council of Commissioners can get very far toward final results without the support of such a body as this. The conference commissioners may be likened to the contractor who puts up a building after the architect has designed it. They may be likened to the workman who carries out the idea of the sculptor and does the actual chiseling. The conference commissioners have a certain technical skill in regard to the formation of an act of the legislature, and if told what properly should go into a child labor law, they can get it into shape so that it may be efficient when enacted.

"This coming week we are to be in Washington and have a meeting on Monday in conference with the National Child Labor Committee, the purpose being to receive suggestions and information as to what should be included in a uniform child labor law. In this way we hope to make more effective the work the National Child Labor Committee has been doing. I do not need any argument to convince me that a shorter workday

for children is practicable. If you say to a considerable number of people that a boy between the ages of fourteen and sixteen ought not to be allowed to work at all, it does not appeal to them. But if you say they should not be allowed to work more than half-time, or six or seven or eight hours, that does appeal to them, and is something which can be carried out. If you explain to members of the legislature that protection of children means protection of posterity, they do not need much argument to appreciate it. It does seem to me that if we work diligently, and you give us all the information we need, a year from next August the conference will be in position to recommend for adoption throughout the country a uniform child labor law, and if we get a good law, one that seems likely to produce good results, we shall give considerable aid in the solution of this difficult question. I heartily agree with Governor Guild that Massachusetts, in order to keep abreast of the times, must be active, and I hope you will heartily support this committee that we may be able to do all you expect of us."

Dr. William C. Hanson,* of the Massachusetts State Board of Health, presented a paper on "The Health of Young Persons in Massachusetts Factories," which was read by title.

The chairman next called upon Dr. Thomas Morgan Rotch, of Harvard, who presented his well-known views on the importance of physiological tests of the fitness of children for various kinds of employment. Dr. Rotch related the extremely interesting work carried on under his direction in distinguishing the development of children by means of the Roentgen ray and expressed fear that the advocates of child labor legislation would make a mistake in working exclusively for the adoption of a uniform law in the various states based upon chronological age. Dr. Rotch said:

"The schools are just as wrong in their present grading from a physician's point of view as the mills are. The gentleman who spoke said that the school teachers can tell you better about the age of children than can the lawyers. The school teachers here in Boston, the Massachusetts teachers, have appealed to me on that subject over and over again. They often do not know how old the children are. Judges in the Juvenile Court in Chicago have spoken to me about this matter of determining the age of children, and they say that the false birth certificates are so numerous, and the parents so untruthful, that determination of age is frequently impossible. They say we need expert research work in the development of children, and in determining whether each child is ready to do certain work. There is no question but that so far as this research work has been carried on, it goes to show that our whole system of treating children physically is wrong. It is disgraceful the way the children of our country are treated.

"Most of the teachers in the schools will tell you that they do not know positively how old the children are. Now, it is a fact that it does not make any difference how old the children are. It does not make any difference whether the child is thirteen, fourteen or fifteen years old in regard to the work he is able to do.

"In the research work which I have done I find that the mind should

be in equilibrium with the body, and that children who are highly developed often have such a degree of knowledge that there is no reason why they should not begin their work, if they are physically ready to do such work. If they are ready to do that work, they should be allowed to do it. This is simply research work, carried on not only with children in the kindergarten, in the elementary schools, in the high schools, and in the technical schools in Pittsburg, where the instructors, teachers and educators believe in it, but also in the United States Naval School.

"This question of age must eventually be put aside. Should you not, therefore, be careful about making an age limit? The chronologic age law does not cover what we are all seeking after, but a developmental law would.

"We must be very careful not to antagonize South Carolina and the southern states if we wish to ever have a national law. You must adapt the vocation to the child, and not say a child can do certain things because it is a certain age, for it may be the very worst thing in the world for a child of sixteen to go into the mills. It may be the worst thing to take them out of the mills, as they did in New York, and put them into school houses. It is only men who devote their lives to the study of disease and development who can give advice on those subjects. Those physicians who are experts in the development and hygiene of children should be asked to give an opinion on these subjects. The general physician knows very little more about it than the lawyers do. There are special men studying the development of children who will be able to tell you in the future what these children are able to do, and what vocations they are fitted for.

"I have been among the public school teachers here who are doing an immense work among the school children. The teachers are in the midst of it, and it is extraordinary what is being done in our schools in Boston. We have had a short time to study this problem, but there is no question but that the Roentgen method is the best to determine whether a child is able to work in a mill or to go into a certain grade in school. The Roentgen ray will tell you whether a child has the physical or mental development which should meet certain conditions. Certain conditions in the mills need a certain amount of development, a certain amount of resisting power, whether the child obtains this from inheritance, education or surroundings, and the child should not be allowed to do this work unless he has been shown to have this degree of development. We are now beginning to guard all young human beings from birth up to twenty-two or twenty-three years of age, when development is really finished. I am showing when the child or the young man is ready to go into the university or the naval academy. We are able to do this and the teachers are saying they have found no flaw in the method so far."

GOVERNOR GUILD: I have asked Dr. Rotch what we should do toward the present restriction of child labor. In response he tells us what we should not do. Is it your opinion, Dr. Rotch, that at present we should do nothing?

DR. ROTCH: Is it hurting the cause to get at the cause of the evil, to

get at the truth? The question is not as to the value of this immense work the National Child Labor Committee has done, for it is self-evident. The idea is that a Roentgen ray machine could be placed in a center where children could be taken. The public school children will be sent there. The mill men say they are perfectly willing to have tests of that kind made. It does absolutely no harm and takes only a few seconds. Instead of having a long examination of parents, it can be told this way in thirty seconds. There is no question among any physicians or experts who have ever made an investigation that this developmental study is the best method as yet. You are making laws on a wrong basis.

MR. LOVEJOY: Dr. Rotch's suggestion is, I understand, substantially the one presented before our fifth annual meeting in Chicago, January 22, 1909. It is a plea for measuring the fitness of children for various occupations—kindergarten, school, athletics, work—by physiological rather than by chronological tests. The method on which he chiefly relies is by observing the development of the bones of the wrist by means of the Roentgen ray.

As a representative of the National Child Labor Committee, I wish to express our very great appreciation of the work Dr. Rotch has done, and our intense interest in the revelations promised from the field of research he has entered. Unfortunately, he has not quite understood our position at a few points, and I desire, therefore, to remove all misconception. The National Child Labor Committee has not officially adopted his plan for the following reasons:

(1) While wholly endorsing the general principle of erecting social safeguards upon the principle of development, by means of anatomical and physiological tests, the particular method by which it is done becomes of interest to us only after it has approved itself to those technically qualified to judge of its accuracy. From such information as we can glean, the profession is far from having arrived at any consensus regarding the accuracy of tests by wrist photography. A prominent orthopedic specialist goes so far as to say that instead of the development of the bones of the wrist being the most accurate measure of human development, the structure of the bones is here more subject to numerical variation, with the possible exception of the ankle, than any other part.

(2) Granting its accuracy as a physical test, as regards the relation between the development of the skeleton and that of the nervous system, we know without any assistance from the Roentgen ray that this often stands in inverse ratio. Not only has Dr. Rotch failed to report any extensive investigation into this phase of the matter, but even if he had, it must still be of minor import to us, since the physical tests implied in every good child labor law put the element of chronological age into a subsidiary place in the individual case, and the inverse ratio is thereby provided for. The standard we universally urge requires that, although a child may have passed a certain birthday, he shall be protected from exposure to the rigors of industrial life, unless he can also meet certain tests of physical development, readily applied by local physicians or intelligent school officials, and also gives evidence of a fair mental equipment. Even then we urge against

employment in certain industries, against occupation at night or for more than a reasonable number of hours per day.

(3) For practical purposes Dr. Rotch's scheme is hopelessly beyond reach. It requires a Roentgen outfit and an expert operator in every place where employment certificates are to be granted. At present he says there are but twenty physicians in the United States who are pediatricians, who are competent to judge of the matter. We doubt whether he could convince even the most radical legislature that he had a plan either feasible or reliable, or whether the interested public, awake to the ravages of child labor throughout the country, will wish us to cease our activities until all children can have their wrists photographed to determine whether they shall be consigned to hard labor for life.

(4) With Dr. Rotch's position, that children should be graded by development rather than by years, he would know, had he examined the work of the National Child Labor Committee, that we are in hearty accord; but he would also have learned from an examination of industries, as well as of children, that in default of the scientific knowledge he promises, no great harm will come from our efforts to guard children from the exactions of modern industry, even to the extent of increasing the age limit for employment. He says, regarding the efforts of the Child Labor Committee, to "increase the age in years required before a child shall labor, notably in the mills," "not only would such a law, if it could be obtained (which it never can be), be practically unwise and essentially wrong, but it would, according to our knowledge of young human beings, probably do harm in many ways." No child who enters school at seven years can get the required eight years of schooling before he is fourteen years old, no matter how many bones his wrist contains. The service of the Roentgen ray for purposes of consigning children to hard labor is palpably on the upper side of fourteen or possibly sixteen years and not below.

It is our effort not only to classify children by physical, nervous and mental development, but also to classify industries according to their fitness for the employment of youth. Even in the present somewhat chaotic condition of knowledge regarding juvenile development, it may be said with probable safety that the Roentgen ray will fail to reveal many ten-year-old children who are farther developed than the average sixteen-year-old child, or many sixteen-year-old children less developed than the average ten-year-old child. It is this span of six years over which those interested in the protection of children from injurious employment keep especial guard, and this for two reasons: First, because children within that age period constitute in the minds of many employers the cheapest and, therefore, the most desirable form of labor; second, because the child is at that time passing through the most critical period of its physical development. We may lack scientific terms in which to express our program at this point, but we believe, in default of clearer light, the assumption that protection is required at least to the sixteenth year, to be graded according to the child's apparent development and to the fitness of the industry—a fairly safe assumption.

Section II. was devoted to "Child Labor in Home Industries and Street Trades," Edward N. Clopper, Cincinnati, secretary for the Ohio Valley States, chairman.

Addresses were delivered by Miss Mary Van Kleeck,* New York, secretary, Committee on Women's Work, on "Child Labor in Home Industries," and by Mr. Clopper * on "Child Labor in Street Trades." In the discussion which followed, attention was called by E. W. Krackowizer, of New York, to the fact that in the section of the city with which he is familiar, employment of little children is more extensive among Italians and other races than among Jews, and asked:

"I wonder whether the licensed tenements are found full of child-workers on the lower East Side in so far as they are peopled by Jews?"

MISS VAN KLEECK: There is a small proportion of Russian Jews, but a very large majority of home-workers are Italians. However, the Russian Jew is not entirely free from home-work, largely in the manufacture of clothing and in carding buttons.

MISS McDOWELL: I think the condition in Chicago is very much that of New York, only not quite so bad, because not so overcrowded. We have no law to regulate home employment.

MR. FROST: There have been two steps taken in Wisconsin to regulate this form of labor. We succeeded in getting through the legislature last year a bill which includes a clause forbidding work of children under fourteen years in any factory or workshop, "or at any gainful occupation, directly or indirectly." In order to hit home-work, the words "manufacturing establishment" were defined to mean "any place where goods or products are manufactured or repaired, dyed, cleaned or assorted, stored or packed, in whole or in part, for sale or for wages." It is the opinion of many people in social settlements that sweatshop work and work done in tenements and homes especially need attention in Milwaukee.

MRS. ELMER J. BISSELL, Rochester, N. Y.: I know very little about it. As Rochester is a great center for the clothing industry and button trade, there is undoubtedly some tenement house labor in isolated places, but our compulsory education law has worked so well that inside of school hours we control the work very well.

MRS. G. W. B. CUSHING, New Jersey: Because of the fact that the New York law is much more sweeping and stringent than that in New Jersey, a great deal of tenement work comes over into New Jersey. We have found in Hudson County and in Newark very much of this sweated industry coming over because of the severe New York law. This seems to suggest a great demand for equal laws. The people go to New York and get their work and bring it back to New Jersey.

Tenement Workers.

MR. LOVEJOY: The worst feature of this home industry is in the large cities, because in smaller cities crowding is not so great. I suggest we consider the advisability of securing laws in the different states which would adequately cover this situation, not by licensing, but by forbidding

the manufacture of goods for commercial purposes in homes, in cities of the first and second class. If the system continue, it would tend to spread to the smaller places, where regulation would be less difficult. Manifestly, it would be impossible to devise a law forbidding home employment in smaller cities, because that would strike at other forms of domestic labor, which in some instances we should not wish to disturb. If such a law could apply only to larger cities, we might get enough interest aroused to secure it in many states.

MISS GORDON: Would that affect the girl who takes in a little sewing at home?

MR. LOVEJOY: It ought to affect any girl who takes in sewing, because sewing is work on which a great many other girls depend to keep themselves from starvation, and because, if the girl makes any money on the side, by taking work home at night, she is not only overworking herself, but is helping to crowd the market down, because she is willing to do the work cheaper. Hence she breaks down the standard of wages for the girls who depend solely on that for livelihood.

The difficulty of enforcing such a law has been suggested. Of course, the difficulty would be very great, but my point is that it would not be nearly as great as now. At present, all we do in New York City is to have inspectors go through these tenements, and find them in a sanitary condition. Under the other plan all the tenement house inspector would have to do would be to find whether any manufacturing was going on there of any kind, and that would be illegal. If we allow 11,000 tenements, under the most sanitary conditions, to engage in manufacturing pursuits, there is no way by which it can be determined whether children under sixteen or under ten, or under five, are working in them, because it would require 11,000 inspectors in New York City in order to do that effectively while 40 or 50 inspectors—perhaps less than that, under the other system—could do the work fairly well. Every time it was discovered that articles were sent into a tenement to be finished, or that articles were coming away finished, it would be pretty conclusive evidence that the law had been violated.

MR. FROST: Such a law could not be attempted in Wisconsin with our strong German, freedom-loving population, always in arms against such a thing.

MR. LOVEJOY: It would be difficult anywhere. The only hope would be to expose conditions enough to arouse public indignation.

THE CHAIRMAN: I should think that through the medium of the public school authorities something might be done.

MISS VAN KLEECK: The legal responsibility of the school extends through the hours when children are supposed to be in school. Many teachers and principals feel that very bad conditions exist among their pupils at home, and say that children come to school physically exhausted by their home work. But all they can do is to send truant officers after them, if they are absent during school hours. After school hours they are powerless to deal with the situation.

Street Trades.

Following the address by Mr. Clopper on "Street Trades," Mrs. Elmer J. Bissell reported verbally as the chairman of the Child Labor Committee of the Women's Industrial Union of Rochester. She told of the active interest of the women of her city in child labor matters, particularly with respect to newsboys. Among the interesting points brought out in her remarks the following deserve mention:

As a result of more vigorous enforcement of law the number of newsboys under sixteen years of age has been reduced from 400 to approximately 200. Complete enforcement has been difficult because of divided responsibility—the police and the school attendance officers each being charged with this duty. In Rochester one special policeman and two attendance officers have been assigned to this work. The volunteer workers of the Women's Committee have co-operated with these officers in reducing the number of unlicensed boys on the street until it is now an exception to find more than four or five in an afternoon selling without badges.

The Board of Education was influenced to continue throughout the summer vacation for the first time last summer two attendance officers and a clerk to supervise the law's enforcement when schools were not in session. This was an immeasurable gain over the preceding summer, as formerly the work of enforcing this law had to commence afresh with the opening of school, because of the badly demoralized conditions of the vacation period.

In Rochester the plan of committing violators to an institution—the penalty in the present statute—does not meet with favor. Instead, a very effective method of securing compliance with the law has been to compel a boy (selling in violation of its provisions) to sell out his papers at cost to a nearby newsboy. The boy is then taken home, the badge revoked, and the parents must come again to the Board of Education to apply for another badge.

An attempt was made to get the Common Council of the city to pass an ordinance requiring boys fourteen to sixteen to be licensed as well. The request was not granted, as the corporation counsel ruled that the proposal would be in conflict with the state law. The volunteer women workers by moral suasion are endeavoring to get the boys fourteen and over to apply voluntarily for badges. She said:

"I wish to add this word from Manchester, England. They prohibit girls from selling papers within a mile of the center of the city. They also require a newsboy or newsgirl to be decently clothed, so that they will not work upon the sympathies of the public, and in a majority of cases they are raising the age limit. The age is twelve years, instead of ten years, and the superintendent of truancy, who has been there thirty-five years, says that since 1903 the age limit has been gradually raised."

Miss McDowell: When I hear the story of Rochester and Wisconsin I hang my head in humiliation. The Chicago Settlement Federation in 1903 had a very good study made of newsboys. We thought if we got the facts and were able to show them to the newspapers, and put them before the

proper persons, we could secure their co-operation in bringing about a different system of selling papers. Miss Addams, representing the Federation of Settlements, went to the Publishers' Association; she saw the president and one of the most prominent newspaper men in Chicago. Both were unsympathetic and refused to touch the question at all. The president of the Publishers' Association said he would invite a committee to confer with their association, but no invitation ever came.

This report made by Myron Adams showed 1000 newsboys studied, and 12 per cent. of them under ten years of age. The study was made mostly of what we call the "loop" in Chicago. It was found that in one evening paper, where the manager of the paper had some conscience and a great deal of sentiment, the boys were cared for while waiting for papers, but in other places conditions were disgraceful. It is most interesting, by the way, to see the sentimental side of the whole question. Two of these men had been newsboys in early days, and they could not get over the fact that they had been, and that they were now successful. For that reason they would not touch the question. One of these gentlemen has on his desk a most beautiful little bronze statue of a newsboy crying papers. It is this self-made man argument that hinders us with the public and with the press.

Newsgirls.

How are we going to get public opinion awakened, for this is what we must have—an intelligent public opinion that will not stand for such conditions? How are we to promote it when the newspapers—the very papers that backed the child labor law—will not help in any way? I went to St. Louis a year ago this fall, and as I left the railroad station and took the street car—and, you know, the railroad station in St. Louis is very near the slums—two tiny girls, one not five years of age, a most attractive little baby, and her older little sister of about ten years of age, stood selling papers on the corner of the street, where all kinds of people were passing, after dark. During this visit I spoke in public twice and told the same story, and the fact that it was girls and not boys selling papers won a hearing, and the press took it up and backed the charity workers and social workers in their efforts to get these little girls off the streets. Before that they had been trying and trying, but had been unsuccessful.

Near the hotel where I was staying I saw under even more dangerous conditions very attractive young girls, twelve and thirteen years old, selling newspapers. I asked a large manly looking newsboy, who seemed to have charge of certain street corners not far off, about it, and he said, "I can't do anything with them. They are so pert, and they are getting worse every day. I can't manage them at all." He was quite stunned by the situation, as everybody was who saw it. It just happened because it was girls that the press did take up that question in St. Louis and get rid of those little things near the railroad station, but the other girls are still selling newspapers, while in Chicago little children of ten and twelve years are pretending to sell papers, but really begging on the streets after dark and at all hours, if not prevented by the truant officer, so the situation in Chicago is most discouraging.

I said at the child labor convention in Chicago—and I say it again—until we can in some way get the ear of the public we shall not succeed. I am perfectly certain that no person wants his newspapers at the expense of little children, and it is not only these boys down in the "loop" that we are obliged to protect, but I have discovered that the morning newspaper that comes to my breakfast table—that comes to every house early in the morning—is secured by little school boys at 5.30, one mile away, which means that school boys ten and twelve years of age must get up at 4.30 in the morning, winter and summer, in order to deliver their papers and get to school by nine o'clock. This condition the public cannot learn at all, because the press wishes to ignore the question. I do not know what we can do unless we can get a large amount of money and work through street car advertising or something of that kind.

Special Delivery Letters.

I wonder if we have ever investigated the subject of postal special delivery children. One night at half-past eleven o'clock a boy under fourteen years brought to me a special delivery letter. Here was the United States Government breaking the law of Illinois—sending a little boy out to our house, seven miles, a forty-five-minute ride, from the postoffice. I at once wrote our postmaster. He made some excuses and said that it should never happen again. It has not happened out our way again, but I wonder whether it has been happening in other cities and states?¹

I fear that this is a most doleful story I am telling, because we have not made any progress. We are just standing still. The socialists do not help us as they do in Wisconsin. Milwaukee and Rochester seem to me quite marvelous any way. We want light and encouragement on this question. It does not seem to me, with the exception of Milwaukee, Rochester and Boston, that we are getting anywhere in protecting this class of child labor that comes very close to all of us. Why should the newspaper employer be the only one we leave in the irresponsible position of heading an unregulated industry? In Illinois we are unable to bring the newsboy under any child labor law because the courts define him as a "merchant"—he buys and sells again.

MR. FROST: With all due respect to the people who do, I do not believe in fining a child at all. We take the badge away for six months for first offense; we take the child to the Juvenile Court for the second offense, but fining is entirely unsatisfactory.

GEORGE A. HALL: I spoke at the section meeting a year ago in Chicago. There is practically nothing additional to report. The situation is as unsatisfactory as ever in New York City. We have poor enforcement of law—spasmodic enforcement—largely, I think, because of lack of a proper kind of penalty. I agree with Mr. Frost that perhaps we should not penalize the child, but I do feel strongly that we ought to hold the adult responsible—I either the parent, the newspaperman, or somebody, and until we can, I

¹In 1908 orders were issued by the Postmaster-General forbidding the employment of children in carrying special delivery letters.

have not much hope for a thorough enforcement of law—in New York City at least. With the exception of Rochester, where the law applies, the other first- and second-class cities in the state are just about as bad as New York, if not worse. No enforcement, and little attention paid the subject. We must this year begin a legislative campaign to raise the standard of the law, to raise the age limit to twelve years, and particularly to adjust the question of penalty.

Miss McDowell: We could not touch the subject of hours unless we tried to get the newsboys under our child labor law.

Miss Gordon: The newsboys' work has been a constant reproach to us. I have been solicitous about the child on the stage, but it is well housed, clothed and fed, whereas we have allowed children to run the streets at night selling papers. But I shall make it an issue, because New Orleans is the only city in the state where we have the newsboy problem, and I have intended to apply to it the same section on night work under the Louisiana law, whereby no boy under the age of sixteen, and no girl under the age of eighteen can be employed at night, except in domestic industries.

Mr. Philip Davis, Boston, supervisor of licensed minors, discussed the subject under the impression that those interested in the regulation of street trades looked upon the newsboy, the bootblack or the peddler as criminal or delinquent children. This he denied, citing in evidence his three years' experience as supervisor of licensed minors in Boston, in which capacity he has been with the boys every day; watched them at their work, followed them in play, at their homes, on street cars and everywhere. He has studied their records in court, in public school, in the Parental School, the Suffolk School and the Lyman School. His conclusion was that newsboys, bootblacks, peddlers and such, are not necessarily criminal, delinquent or defective in any way. "We find the boys in the city of Boston under the licensing system decidedly the best class of boys in school. . . . No children under a certain age ought to sell on the street. No girls ought to sell. No boys ought to sell before six in the morning or after eight at night, not because it brings them to court, but because you would not permit your boy or girl to sell after eight o'clock. No boy ought to sell in school hours, obviously, for if he sells in school hours, he will not get much out of school. In the city of Boston we have accomplished this: First, we have taken all girls off the streets. You cannot find a girl selling on the streets to-day. And, secondly, we have no boys under eleven years of age, and among bootblacks, none under twelve. We have stopped boys from selling papers before six in the morning or after eight at night. Any boy wanting to sell papers must be in regular attendance at school, must be in good standing and the certificate comes from the teacher, signed by the master, and goes through the Boston School Board.

"I desire to say that no police officer is competent to deal with newsboys. The only thing he can do is to arrest the boy, which is not necessary, nor is it necessary to fine him. I find that a perfectly humane treatment of children forced on the street because of family conditions is most effective. The boys in Boston have instituted a system of self-government of news-

boys, giving each school its own captain and lieutenant, and those captains and lieutenants know more about selling papers and delinquency than all the police officers in the city. The beginning of this successful work was when the school board said, 'We are going to make one man responsible.'

Mr. Davis explained that the system provides that every licensed minor shall wear a badge on the back of which, in the boy's own handwriting, appears his name, and these badges are frequently examined by police officers.

MISS GORDON: In New Orleans a great many children cannot write their names.

MR. DAVIS: No boy can be licensed in Boston unless he can read and write and understand the law under which he is licensed.

MISS McDOWELL: Boston has gone far ahead, but many things are not obvious to people who have no law, and, therefore, we ought not to be satisfied because Boston has succeeded. The evils of child life on the street are denied by many people, and we will have to show the dangers of the street, and that it is a tremendous evil for boys and girls to be on the street—not to prove that newsboys or newsgirls are bad, but that there is great danger, and all this I feel has not yet been proven.

An address was given by Miss Pauline Goldmark,* New York, supervisor, research work, New York School of Philanthropy, on "Child Labor in Canneries."

Following this address, Mr. Lord said:

"I want to say a word about the canning situation in Maine. It is a report of progress, a progress of science, not of legislation, because the cannerymen of Maine have succeeded in defeating every attempt to restrict labor in any way in the sardine canneries, child labor, the hours of labor for adults and everything else. They have no restriction whatever. The law is entirely open for the sardine cannerymen.

"At the last legislature the men who make cans came up and asked to have the same exemption extended to them. The cannerymen had the exemption on the ground that the fish were perishable. Now, the cannerymen came up and said the cans are also perishable, they rust very quickly and must be made up in great numbers when they are needed right away. We found that the people who were making the boxes in which the cans were placed wanted a similar exemption because the cans had to be boxed so quickly, and many others were following on that trail to get exemptions. I am glad to say that while we were unable to make any progress, we were able to stop that. No further exemptions were made. Now, however, in some of the largest canneries on the coast of Maine they are putting in machines which will do practically all the work now being done by children. As soon as those are in operation the large cannerymen will be very glad to have a law passed prohibiting employment of children, and I hope we may get a law which will remove that exemption. Our prospects are pretty good. The sardine industry is the only important one which now employs great numbers of children."

MRS. CUSHING: The northern part of New Jersey is so close to New York and the southern part so close to Pennsylvania, we are having this

canning industry trouble. Public school teachers find large numbers of Italians leaving school so early that they applied to us for an investigation. We found entire families were coming over in large numbers from New York and Philadelphia, leaving school very early and remaining in New Jersey till after the cranberries were gathered. The children going back would not reach Philadelphia till November, and from the fact that they were Philadelphia children the New Jersey officers could do nothing. But these children returning to Philadelphia had lost all interest in the schools and were reinforcing a large number of truants. We could see no help except by applying to the Board of Health because the conditions under which they lived were in every respect so bad. But the Boards of Health were very little interested, and we applied to one of the governors (not the present one) to see whether he could use his influence in the southern part of New Jersey. He said he had not the least interest in them or sympathy for them because they were better off in New Jersey than in tenement houses.

THE CHAIRMAN: The subject of housing conditions is important. Miss Lilian M. Skinner, school attendance officer, Westfield, N. Y., will tell us something about "Rural School Attendance and Child Labor."

MISS SKINNER: I have seen the canning factories on the side reverse from that from which Miss Goldmark has looked at them, the side which shows how labor in them under existing conditions affects the lives of the laborers. These laborers are nearly always entire families.

"I came to know the S—— family last spring, when acting as school visitor among the Italian children of the school of a village in New York state. The teacher's note after the name of the thirteen-year-old son Joe was, "Bad boy," so I visited the home of the "Bad boy." Seven years ago the father brought his family here from Buffalo, a city which has been a distributing center for Italians. For three summers past the entire family of seven people has worked from June to November in the canning factory of a neighboring town. S—— makes fifteen cents an hour working inside the factory the oldest son of sixteen makes ten cents; Joe makes eight; Louis and the little sisters do not work, they "dassent." The mother and Antonia make eight cents an hour, but every hour and a half "she got to home and nurse the baby." The family has the use of one room, about ten by ten feet, and in the long corridor they share a cook stove with three other families. The mother described the place. "We live awful bad there, we got a room one-half the size of this one, we got two beds in and at night another; that is an awful hard time. We got bed bugs in the night and can't sleep. When it is hot we got stay up half the night." I said, "Why do you go there?" She replied, "What you goin' do, got to work somewheres, goin' say, 'Give me piece bread?'" These living conditions, repeated each summer, may be one cause of the foul and immoral talk in the ears of his little schoolmates which made Joe's teacher write under his name "Bad boy."

"October, with its tomatoes, is the best month for money-making in cannning factories, and the oldest son, Jim, returning the first of November, two months late for school, was dropped back to his grade of the year before. He said to his father, "You can kill me if you want to, but I

won't go back in the seventh grade." He looked for work, but the winter of 1908 and 1909 was a hard one for jobs; he was ashamed to stay at home, so spent his winter in the back room of B——'s barber shop. He is one of the few boys in the Italian colony to have made the seventh grade, but in regard to industrial efficiency, he is no better off than the boys who drop out after the fourth or fifth grade. He is a casual laborer, and except for his knowledge of English is no better off than his father who spent his first twenty-one years in the interior of Sicily, without going to school, and since has spent twenty-four years in America without going to school.

"Close to the evil conditions of the canneries lies the neglect of our villages and smaller towns where foreigners go in ever-increasing numbers. In October, 1906, believing many Italian families were keeping their children in the canning factories of neighboring towns illegally, I offered to look up the truant Italian children of our villages; but was told by the principal there were none. The next day a hasty note came to say that he was mistaken, that they were not truants because they had failed to register, and that the Italian children were out of school almost in a body. In October, 1909, the Italian children sent home from the canneries in the beginning of the school year dropped out for two, three or four weeks to work in grape harvesting, a local industry, or else to care for the younger children while both parents worked picking grapes from seven in the morning to six at night. Children of ten, eleven and twelve did this on verbal permission by the principal. So-called permits to work—properly, school certificates—are given by the same principal on the mere statement of the children, and boys and girls holding these permits remain out of school all winter without work, as there is little or no work for children during the winter.

"In New York state, not to attend school when not working, even though the permit be held, is as illegal as to work without a permit. Below all these failures to enforce or even recognize the law lies the fact that children do not care for school. Our curriculum does not hold them. One young girl, just under fifteen, sits at home through this winter with empty mind and hands. Her mother does the housework. She has reached the sixth grade, and does not wish to go further. "Won't you go to school?" I asked her. "No," she replied. "Why not?" "I don't want to go." "Why don't you want to go?" "I don't know." Her father, a Sicilian, has bought a house and lives well. "She can go if she wants to," he said. The academic subjects we teach do not interest her. These subjects are too far away from living. They do not prepare these children for the lives they must live, nor do they stimulate or make them eager to take part in the world's work. Now that the trolleys go everywhere there is no reason why teachers, who train the hand with the mind, should not go from one village to another, just as in cities they go from one school to another. It is even said that the solution of the immigration problem is to put the immigrant into the country districts. In these villages we have the immigrants in the country of their own initiative. But except for freedom from the congestion of the great

cities, they are no better off as regards their own lives nor as regards their relation to the community of which they make a part. In the country, just as in cities, it is necessary to train and to educate; it is necessary to enforce as well as to make law."

MISS GOLDMARK: In New York children can no longer work in a cannery proper where machinery is used, but no machinery has been found to string beans, which is the great product of the state and in which children are a great help. We very much need further legislation to cover employment of children in sheds. In regard to housing, the evil has been so gross we are likely to get some state regulation this winter.

MISS MINOR: Why does not the education law apply to children in New York state? No matter what village they are residing in at the time, they should be compelled to attend school, even if they change their residence every few weeks. If this is a state law, why does it not apply to children migrating from one county to another?

MISS GOLDMARK: It is a serious matter to provide schooling, and I think it must be met by having camp colony schools.

MISS SKINNER: The law is not enforced. There is no one sufficiently interested. Otherwise, it might be.

THE CHAIRMAN: The program reads: Child labor in canneries, truck gardening, tobacco and beet-sugar fields. And as truck gardening, tobacco and beet-sugar fields relate to garden labor and canneries to factory labor, we must differentiate between the two, and as Miss Goldmark has presented to us such an insight into the canneries, I think we ought to learn a little further in regard to this. If there is any one present familiar with the condition of canneries in New York state, or anywhere else, we shall be glad to hear from them.

DR. MCKELWAY: Mr. Chairman, I paid a visit to Pass Christian, Miss., last spring. I had investigated the oyster canning industry in the Gulf states to some extent before. I was amazed at the number of small children who were employed in the oyster shucking factories. There are a good many along the Gulf coast, some on the South Carolina. I found that the workers were Bohemian and Polish children from Baltimore. Our chief adversary in the fight for a better child labor law in Florida was the owner of an oyster cannery in Apalachicola. I visited his factory and saw acres of oyster shells there fifteen feet deep, and a great proportion of those oysters had been taken out of the shells by little children. We would not make any exemption in the Florida law, although we had to accept the twelve-year-age limit, and last year the proposal was made again that we could have the fourteen-year-age limit if we would exempt this oyster canning industry, which we declined to do.

Now here was a very interesting situation, that these people were brought from Baltimore and other parts of Maryland and Delaware in the winter season to shuck the oysters along the Gulf coast. Mr. Hine went to Maryland and made some investigations there, and he made a very interesting study of the situation and took a large number of photographs. The children in this oyster canning industry and fruit and vegetable canning in-

dustries are smaller than any children I ever saw in industrial work, smaller even than in the southern cotton mills. Miss Goldmark has spoken of the prejudice against these children and the difficulty of taking them into the schools. I found the same prejudice to exist in Florida, and the difficulty there is that they have had no compulsory school law, so the children have absolutely no schooling. The schools are not open in Maryland in the canning season, and then in the winter months the workers go to the Gulf coast.

Migrating Child Labor.

MISS ANNA HERKNER, Baltimore: It is perfectly possible for a child to be born in Baltimore and grow up to the age of fourteen and never attend school. That is what is going on all the time. I want to make just a slight correction to something Dr. McKelway said. It is mostly Poles and not Bohemians who go south. Bohemians have done that in times past, but the public schools have had an Americanizing influence, so they have now reached the stage where they understand American institutions better. The first children—the first generation of those born here—who do not come under the influence of the public school, make the troublesome element in our community. The Poles in Baltimore are now at the stage where the Bohemians were twenty years ago. They work in canneries and on farms under such conditions as have been described. The child labor law in Maryland permits them to work in the cannery both in the country and in the city until the middle of October. It is usually November before they all get back, and about the end of November they begin going south. There are any number of families who do that, who have done that for years, and we have now children—many cases I know—who have never been to school. It is the first time they have felt the need of knowing how to read and write simple English. Children who have never been in school before are now being pushed that they may pass the educational test for work permits. I think Maryland is the one southern state that has the distinction of a good compulsory education law in force.

The possibility of regulating the migration of people from one state to another was discussed and Dr. McKelway suggested a license tax upon agents who go into a state to get laborers for other states. North Carolina and Tennessee have laws of this kind. He said, "If Maryland would pass a similar law, it would at least discourage this wholesale migration to the southern states."

The fact was brought out that many of the children work in Maryland canneries until the middle of October. Before the truant officer reaches them to compel attendance, they have gone south to work in tobacco or oyster establishments along the Gulf.

The Chairman, Mr. Clopper, said: The compulsory education law of Kentucky in its bearing upon the rural districts is very defective, and as the rural schools are open for six months, and as most roads are in very bad condition in the spring, the session begins in July and ends some time in January. Farmers who raise tobacco and other crops need the children.

who are consequently deprived of schooling. Kentucky is the leading state in the production of tobacco. We are going to try at this session of the legislature to improve the compulsory education law with respect to rural districts.

Child Labor in Tobacco Fields.

The children work in tobacco, hoeing, plowing, cultivating and picking worms off the leaves and suckers from the plants. That lasts during the summer, then after the tobacco has been cured, some time in October or November, they start stripping the leaves. They assist in all that work, and then the tobacco goes to the stemmery to be stemmed, where child labor is again used, but under the inspection of the state factory inspector. Until the tobacco arrives at the warehouse, the state factory inspector has nothing whatever to do with the matter, and the children are kept out of school, beginning at the opening of the season in July until late in November. Consequently they go for only six or eight weeks in the winter. There is not a single truant officer in the counties of Kentucky. They are still under the old district trustee system, which is a flat failure, and we are trying to get some kind of good compulsory education law for these districts, and some one to enforce it. A great many children do not go to school at all. These children in Kentucky are pure American stock; they are not foreigners. The foreign population in Kentucky is about 1 per cent. of the total population, and these little boys and girls are growing up in ignorance.

This is a serious phase of the agricultural problem. The labor of children in the field is not detrimental to their health, but the great wrong is that during the period of childhood, they are practically deprived of an opportunity for education.

Georgia Cotton Fields.

MRS. PACE: I should like to speak for Georgia—of the cotton field. I think we have the same trouble there that they do in the Kentucky tobacco fields. It is very hard to get a child in school more than six or eight weeks in the year. Consequently, when these boys grow up and find they are just laboring from year to year, and have nothing higher to look forward to, they leave their homes and go off to the city to school, and they make very poor subjects to come into a city. They fall in with an ignorant class of people, and that causes a great deal of suffering and wickedness in our cities. I have been in the rural districts of Georgia for nearly thirty years, teaching most of the time, away from my work hardly a month in the year. I find that parents have very little thought about taking their children out of the fields. A boy of ten or twelve years, also little girls at that age, can hoe cotton like the older people, and consequently it is difficult to get them out of the fields into the schools more than six or eight weeks during the year.

Resolutions.

The following resolution was presented by Dr. McKelway and unanimously adopted, after which the final session of the sixth annual conference adjourned.

Resolved, That the National Child Labor Committee extend its grateful thanks to its host, the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee, making special mention of the Conference Committee and the Reception Committee, for the complete provision made for the comfort and convenience of the delegates and for the success of this convention; to the State Federation of Women's Clubs for its hospitality; to the officers of Boston University for the use of the halls of the Liberal Arts Building; to the press of the city for the liberal space given for the publicity of our proceedings, and to the good people of Boston whose sympathetic interest in the cause of child labor reform has been an inspiration, whose many kindnesses and courtesies will be held in grateful remembrance.